5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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463 [563] has enjoyed a much higher rate of education than was possible in an Islamic community like Senegal, even taking into account French assimilation policy.

There is a pronounced bias in Senegal against entering into commerce, whether at the African level or at the European level. This bias has been observed by many Europeans. It may be thought of as a mere attempt to explain away the lack of success or rather a lack of desire and intention to Africanise commerce, but against this view, M. Assane Seck, one of the leaders of the Opposition [665] *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and a lecturer at the university, who might normally be only too pleased to pin the slow rate of Africanisation of commerce on the Government, has said that one of the chief obstacles to the Africanisation of economy at its higher levels is the preference of the Senegalese élite, [591] and even the lesser educated classes, for work in the Administration. [647] Under the French the Administration seems to have enjoyed a very high status especially as rates of pay [465] have always been considerably higher than in commerce and industry. Commerce, even when it pays better, has among the Senegalese something of the smear it had in ninteenth-century England.

471 [472] Another barrier to the Africanisation of shopkeeping and small scale private enterprise is the difficulty the Senegalese have in amassing capital. The obligations towards members [596] of the extended family are such that a man with money has calls made on it from even his most distant relatives. This social parasitism is much stronger in Senegal than in most West African countries. One of the few important Senegalese business men operating in Dakar today has admitted that he had to reduce his family obligations drastically, not only because he was married to a European, but because unless he did so, he would never be able to keep enough capital in his business. Diop Abdoulaye, in his study of the Toucouleur, [736] has protested against the use of the term family parasitism for something which 'makes it possible to help those in need, the unemployed, for example, who can then

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

This is a significant fact; high prestige, more or less definitely acknowledged by the whole population, crystallizes around professions, functions or situations which are considered to be 'intellectual'—implying in fact a minimum of Western-type learning. Prestige on economic grounds seems to be definitely on the decline.[1] At Dakar, Thiès and Saint-Louis du Sénégal, adults were questioned about the trade or occupation they would like their children to take up. A vast majority of the socio-vocational categories (unskilled and skilled workers, traders, clerks, civil servants, etc.) from which the population sample under study was taken gave the same answer. Between 65 and 80 per cent mentioned an intellectual profession. Those most frequently cited were teaching (primary or secondary school teacher) and the liberal professions (lawyer, doctor, etc.); the technological professions (engineer etc.) were much more rarely specified.[2] One of the commonest answers was that vague but highly significant term, 'civil servant'. The fact is that the trend of education in the period before 1945 helped to establish a very close link between education and a job in the administration; this is still the case, despite the changes effected in the last few years. Similar attitudes are found in the results of surveys among children in the primary schools at Dakar. Among those who replied specifically[3]—about three-quarters of the children questioned—more than 80 per cent expressed a preference for an occupation considered to be intellectual, irrespective of their father's occupation; next came certain manual trades, with commerce far behind. The choice of an unspecified administrative job was less frequent than among the adults. It follows that the view generally taken about education—including primary education—viz. that it will lead almost inevitably to an intellectual occupation,[4] however modest, remains very stable; but it is less and less in keeping with the realities of the situation.

A brief study of the facts in the development of the educational system will allow us to make a first evaluation of the system. The crude school rate rose rapidly from 1946 to 1953 and has since continued to rise pretty regularly (16 per cent in 1953, 18 per cent in 1954, about 20 per cent in 1955). Senegal's early advance in this respect explains why the increase is less steep there than in most of the other French West African territories.[5] True, the school rate is still relatively low (and a fairly large proportion of the children do not complete even the primary course and will probably soon lose such learning as they have acquired), but a plateau was reached several years ago: primary education turns out many more pupils than the 'administrative bourgeoisie'—characteristic of the colonial period—or its equivalent in private enterprise can absorb. Formerly, the surplus of the educated population could be absorbed by the manual trades or by migration to other territories. But this second door is gradually closing now that these other territories are catching up in education. Moreover, the slow pace of economic expansion precludes any big increase in the number of openings for technical workers or in the supervisory grades in industry.[6] This is the justification for the talk about the educational over-

1. Material security (e.g. that enjoyed by civil servants) seems to be desired more often than actual wealth.
2. They are only beginning to acquire some prestige; the number of students choosing this branch has risen considerably in recent years.
3. Children from 10 to 14, in the 'intermediate' classes.
4. A job in the bureaucracy was for years the standard aim.
5. The school rate in the Ivory Coast almost trebled between 1946 and 1955.
6. Limited, but chronic unemployment, already exists in Dakar.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
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467 668 [498] among the semi-skilled workers. The situation was reversed at Thiès, but because of the large Dakar-Niger Railroad shops there, this city is an exceptional case. The traits found at Dakar, by contrast, proved characteristic of unionism in French West Africa. The overall figures, obtained from official sources based on statements by unions, indicated clearly that manual occupations were the least unionized. Out of the 100,000 union members in French West Africa in [649] 1954, more than half were either government officials or government employees. The rate of unionization in the governmental sector was nearly double that in the non-governmental sector. Finally, in the two sectors together, semi-skilled workers comprised only a little more than a fourth of all union members. Furthermore, results of the studies at Dakar and Thiès suggest that union membership and level of schooling correlate rather closely; [665] this was far from the case with respect to party membership, at least at Dakar. To what degree did unionism offer educated individuals a means of expression that, in the period studied, parties did not offer them? Educated persons, especially youths, were more susceptible to extremist anti-colonial aspirations. And to what degree could union action present itself more clearly as a trial postponement for the existing order than action within the framework of parties?

The particular traits of union struggle markedly demonstrate the fundamental conflicts of the colonial situation. One cannot accurately speak of the "politization" of unions, in the sense many government officials give this term. The [665] limited activities of parties and the very conditions of unionism in a colonial situation have given unionism a marked political coloring.

(1) Interviews of militant unionists, [MA]

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S 498 563 W 498 162 463 workers from the regions neighboring Thiès are not in the majority; the Wolof-Sérère group is made up of 380 units, 45% of the total. Besides, the Wolof and Sérère /Serer/ offer relatively few technicians and supervisory operatives; the Wolof make up only 7% in the supervisory category as against 24% in that of manual workers; the Sérère account for only 5% in the first category and 39% in the second. On the other hand, 17% of the Khassonké and Sarakolé belong to the supervisory staffs as against only 22% of the manual workers and employees. These figures underline the difficulty for the enterprise in recruiting specialized workers in the vicinity of Thiès. It must call upon technicians from distant territories, although a high percentage of non-specialized workers and manual laborers are recruited locally.

S 498 433 Because of the number of its total labor force, the industrial grouping of the Dakar-Niger forms one of the most active elements of the economy of the district. More than 25,000,000 francs C.F.A. are distributed monthly in the form of salaries to all of the personnel.

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3. The Public sector.

S 712 433 Although the installation and extension of the two military camps have in an indirect way increased the importance of the city, it indeed seems that they have little influence on the economy of the district on account of their internal organization within a closed circuit.

S ● 647 464 The establishment of increasingly more numerous and substantial administrative services affects the economic life of the escale in a more tangible fashion. The administration of the circle /cercle, an administrative district/ and the services for agriculture, education, and public works employ several hundred officials, day laborers, and manual workers.

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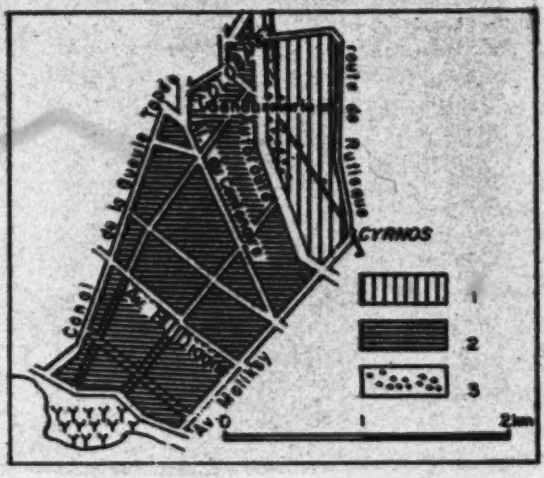

Fig. 4. Médina. -- 1. Industrial zone;
2. quarters more or less urbanized;
3. irregular quarters.

369 563 which progressively transformed the Dakar agglomeration. There was first the creation of the S. T. A. G. D. (Service temporaire de l'aménagement du Grand-Dakar /Temporary [361] Office for the Arrangement of Greater Dakar/) for a systematic urbanization of the city. Then there was the decision to promote a policy of lodgings for African officials, while a society for a mixed economy, the Société Immobilière du Cap-Vert (S. I. C. A. P.) /Building Society of Cape Verde/ [362] studied and made up forms for cheap dwellings for mere renting or for rent-sale. At the same time there was the law called "Lamine Gueye," which equalized upward several [465] elements of the African and non-African wages at the time when "l'africanisation des cadres" /Africanization of the staffs/ was promoted, which led to a mixture of Africans and [647] Europeans in the administrative lodgings and in the new quarters for officials. Finally, first the staff-law and then autonomy

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

Municipal Government

Full Communes. Dakar (including Goree), St. Louis, and Rufisque are full communes (Vol. I, p. 258), the only ones in the Federation.

The Municipal Councils, which choose their own mayors, consist of from fifteen to eighteen members. These are elected for terms of four years by the French citizens of their towns, and since 1910 all the councils have had African majorities. At first these communes had powers as extensive as their counterparts in France, and they were responsible for police, public health, roads, markets, lighting, and elementary education. In 1918, however, the colonial authorities took over public health at St. Louis and at Dakar, and in 1927 at Rufisque. Similarly, in 1924, the creation of the District of Dakar was made the occasion to subtract police and roads from the commune. The same process, without the same excuse, went on in 1927 for St. Louis and for Rufisque. For all these services the municipalities still make financial contributions.

Their revenue comes from direct government grants, from municipal rates, and from municipal undertakings. Altogether they include market dues, liquor licences, lighting, and a proportion of the business licences and other colonial taxes. In normal years the revenue of Dakar averaged some 8,000,000 francs, of St. Louis 7,750,000 francs, and of Rufisque 5,600,000 francs.

In each case the budget is drawn up by the mayor, passed by his council, and submitted to the Governor or Administrator.

Mixed Communes. There are fifteen mixed communes in Senegal, namely Bambey, Bargny-Gouddou, Diourbel, Fatik, Foundiougne, Gossas, Kaolack, Kébémer, Kombole, Louga, M'Bour, Mekhé, Thiès, Tivaouane, and Ziguinchor. Thirteen of them are mixed communes of the first degree, but since 1925 Kaolack and Ziguinchor have been mixed communes of the second degree.

Chambers of Commerce. There are Chambers of Commerce at Dakar, Kaolack, St. Louis, Thiès, and Ziguinchor. The one at St. Louis is the successor of a Committee of Commerce which was set up in 1825. The Chamber at Thiès is also known as the Chamber of Cayor-Baol. It was first founded at Rufisque in 1883, but in 1937, when that town was included in the District of Dakar, it was moved to its present headquarters.

In Senegal there are no separate Chambers of Agriculture and Industry, but the Chamber of Commerce at Dakar has a section, established in 1930, devoted to those two activities.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

redemption money. During 1936 official figures showed 1,000 labourers working under written contracts for private concerns, while 31,800 were working on verbal agreements. For public services there were only 20 working with written contracts and 8,900 without. These figures apply only to regular employment, and they take no account of casual labour of any kind.

The fertile provinces of Baol and Sine-Saloum annually attract thousands of immigrant labourers from French Sudan to grow ground-nuts. It is estimated that, in some years, as many as 60,000 Sudanese labourers (*navétanes*) cross the border, encouraged by cheap fares on the railways and advances of pay from the Chambers of Commerce. In 1932 these advances amounted to 300,000 francs. On their arrival they do not work for daily hire, but each labourer takes up a plot for the season. The landowner provides the seeds, and also board and lodging for the labourer. In return the labourer works on the owner's plot for two, three, or four days a week. At the close of the season the proprietor takes either one-tenth of the crop or double the quantity of seeds that he supplied, leaving the rest of the crop to the labourer. Most labourers return to their homes at the end of the harvest, but occasionally they stay on till they have accumulated the sum they set out to acquire.

Agriculture

The first director of agriculture of Senegal may be said to have been Richard, one of the survivors of the *Méduse*. Under him experimental gardens were founded at Richard Toll about 1820. These are still in existence. The present organization of the Department of Agriculture is laid down by an order of 22 January 1932. Working in close contact with local administrative officers, it manages experimental gardens and farm schools, gives information and instruction to farmers, conducts campaigns against agricultural pests, and organizes agricultural shows. The Department has a laboratory at Hann and an experimental station at Bambey. This was opened in 1924 and is devoted principally to the study and improvement of ground-nuts. Besides these institutions the Department owns various smaller stations for study, experiment, and instruction.

Forestry. The Department of Agriculture had charge of forestry until an order of 10 February 1937 created a separate Forestry Department and divided the colony into four forestry districts (*inspections*), with headquarters at St. Louis, Thiès, Ziguinchor, and Tambacounda respectively.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

Produce Inspection. Produce inspection is entrusted to a board nominated by the Chambers of Commerce, but the Government keeps a tight control by exercising a veto on all important appointments to its staff. The Board's inspectorate has very wide powers of inspection over produce, whether destined for local consumption or for export. No produce to which inspection applies can be sent out of the colony without a certificate of purity.

For this inspection a special tax of 5 francs per ton on ground-nuts and palm kernels, and 20 francs per ton on rubber, is imposed on produce intended for export.

Native Provident Societies. There are 14 Native Provident Societies. Bignona and Ziguinchor have combined, but otherwise there is one to each province. In 1937 they had 1,200,000 members, whose annual subscriptions varied from 2·50 francs to 5·00 francs each, and their expenses were some 25,000,000 francs. They supplied over 44,000 tons of ground-nut seeds to their members.

In earlier days the Sine-Saloum society imported stallions from the Argentine for the breeding of mules, and in 1932 the societies devoted nearly 250,000 francs to the purchase of motor vehicles. In cattle-breeding districts they supply breeding stock and improve water-supply and pasturage. By 1933 it was estimated that the societies had sunk over 1,200 wells, while the society of Thiès had constructed a barrage for irrigation purposes.

In addition to strictly agricultural activities, the Senegal societies help their members by advances of cash, which are made not only to meet failure of crops, but also in cases of individual accident or illness.

Mining

At the end of 1937 the following permits were in force:

Personal licences		4
The Occupation System		
Exclusive licences	10	
Mining licences	32	
Concessions	16	
	—	58
Total		62

Education

The first attempts to educate the natives of French West Africa were made in Senegal, and they were also remarkable for being instituted, not by missionaries, but by the Crown. Colonel Schmaltz

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633 instance, a customs office, and a telegraph, telephone, and
[47] post office. The various administrative services are represented
there (public works, treasury, medical aid, education, agri-
culture, veterinary medicine, etc.).

439 Financial situation. Taxes. The circle of Sine-Saloum
is constantly increasing in importance because of its size,
population, and economic resources.

[496] Because of its exceptional location, the railway from
[49] the Sudan crosses it over a distance of 190 kilometers. Seven
[505] stations mark it out. Its railroad network and its system of
highways and canals permit it to drain to Kaolack and
[439] Foundiougne all of the products of the soil. Thus, the total
commerce for 1927 (imports and exports combined) amounted
651 to 350 million francs for the circle. The customs duties col-
lected for the benefit of the general budget of French West
Africa reached 13 million francs. The taxes from the tax
rolls (personal taxes, patents, licenses, etc.) have risen to
25 million francs, whereas they did not exceed the figure of
4,300,000 francs in 1923. The advance is thus remarkable.

Native personal taxes alone in 1927 provided 3,768,355 francs, whereas in 1921 they brought in only 2,791,000 francs.

Taxes on livestock went from 270,000 francs in 1921 to 425,000 francs in 1927.

871 /104/ Education. Instruction is given to the children
[875] by French and native teachers. There is a regional school
[872] with 500 pupils at Kaolack. Primary schools are operating
at Fatick, Foundiougne, Sokone, Gossas, Kaffrine, and
Nioro. In all, 1,200 children receive instruction; only an
elite goes to school. A need for the creation of new centers
of education is felt, especially at Birkelane, Koungheul,
Gandiaye, Niakhar, and Tataguine. Nevertheless, although
instruction in French is given only in our schools, the natives
also receive some rudiments of instruction in the Koranic
schools. The latter are quite numerous.

[in KAOLACK - ANALYST]